

# WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the "Interests of the Workers and Farmers"

VOL. 3, No. 6.

NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 15, 1934.

PRICE 5 CENTS

## CWA WORKERS IN WASH. PROTEST

Over four hundred delegates from CWA and unemployed organizations met at five o'clock in the morning of Saturday, March 24, at the Penna. station to go to Washington to protest against the demobilization of the CWA, involving the lay-offs of millions of workers and the introduction of a nationwide system for the pauperization of the American working class.

Among the delegates were black and white workers, laborers and professionals, youths and adults.

When the delegation arrived in Washington they were met by delegations from Baltimore, Camden, Reading and Washington, increasing the number of the original delegation to almost 1,000. A committee, consisting of representatives of the various organizations participating in the united-front demonstration, was elected to go to the President and to Harry L. Hopkins, federal administrator. The committee was joined by Norman Thomas and Rabbi Goldstein. Neither of them represented any organization but joined the committee to support its demands, as individuals. Special committees were also sent to the House and Senate.

Throughout our stay in Washington, nature favored us with snow, rain, hail, wind and glazed streets. Undismayed by the adverse weather the delegation marched through the most Washingtonian streets and avenues of Washington.

Through numerous placards and the voices of hundreds of marchers the demands of the delegation were broadcast. Official Washington saw and heard the demands of the unemployed and CWA workers: "We Want Work!", "We Demand Unemployment Insurance", "CWA Must Go On", "Equality For All—Negro and White."

Passing in front of the Washington Auditorium the marchers halted temporarily and were addressed by Hopkins of the Emergency Workers in Adult Education and Ed Welsh of Workers Unemployed Union. On their way back to Union Station the marchers stopped at a Workmen's Circle Branch headquarters which had provided for them sandwiches, coffee and fruits. And at five in the evening after all the delegates had gathered at the station the journey back to New York City started.

It is to be recorded that the national exponent of the "forgotten man" refused to see the delegation's committee. It is to be recorded that the President of the United States refused to see a delegation of unemployed and CWA workers. The misery, the starvation, the insecurity of millions of workers is not the concern of the "man of the people."

Not even the secretary to the President could be seen. He, too, was busy or indisposed. And it was only after persistent pressure secretary to the President, Marvin McIntyre, consented to meet with that the trip to Washington was made possible as a result of the pennies, nickels and dimes collected from workers on CWA projects, the assistant secretary to the President of the U. S. replied that too much money had been spent.

With Harry L. Hopkins, the committee achieved practically the

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## The Great Betrayal

(AN EDITORIAL)

It has been a long time since American Labor has suffered so costly and ignominious a defeat as the one inflicted upon the auto workers by Green and Roosevelt.

Some polite Socialists can try to speak of the terms imposed upon the automobile workers by the New Dealers as merely a setback. Reactionary misworked overtime to undermine the workers' hopes, "hope". But facts and actions, especially when painful, speak much louder than pretty pretenses and false promises.

The facts are: The automobile unions are not recognized. The automobile unions are to turn over their membership lists to government spokesmen and agents, who, in consultation with the employers, will pass judgement upon them as to whether there is a numerical basis for these workers being given recognition in the plant by the plant authorities. Leaders selected by the auto workers in the industry as a whole are, under no circumstances, to be eligible to represent the workers. The isolated plant organization and paltry resources of the workers in the individual factory are to be pitted against the concentrated might of the giant automobile organizations. To cap it all, an arbitration board, with teeth in its mandate, is to be the final arbitrator of disputes.

Symbolic of the hypocritical character of the New Deal noise about friendship for labor is the appointment of Nicholas Kelley to this Board as representative of the employers. Perhaps our fishing President would have the workers believe that in Mr. Kelley, Labor really has a friend because he is in counsel for the Chrysler Motor Corporation as well as an outstanding member of the League for Industrial Democracy at the same time!

"A great piece of work," is the New York Times estimate of the settlement! "A vindication of our principles," boast the spokesmen of the open shop auto industry! This is certainly correct and General Motors here adds merely another bit of imposing evidence confirming the charge that it is the most favored corporation in the New Deal family.

Pictureque and most accurate is the characterization of the settlement in the automobile industry as "the Versailles treaty of the labor war."

We brand the conduct of the A. F. of L. misleaders in Washington throughout these negotiations as totally anti-working class. It marks a major defeat for American labor in its struggle against the spreading plague of company unionism. It validates the company union as an instrument of collective bargaining and baptizes the employers' "unions" as fitting agencies, as legitimate spokes-

men for workers. But this is not all. It is not only the automobile workers who have been hit below the belt by their official leaders. The terms of this ghastly betrayal are to serve as a precedent for other industries. Already this has been felt in the taxi-strike recently broken in New York. Senator Wagner has rushed to amend his so-called pro-labor law, which at best was a menace to the most fundamental interests of the workers, with new provisions based on the automobile settlement.

The great betrayal is the most appropriate evaluation of the behavior and policies of the A. F. of L. high-priced officials of labor know that the trade union movement must secure a firm base in the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. understands that the trade union movement is not secure until such time as it roots itself in the basic industries of the country like the automobile, steel, oil, etc. Here was a moment in which the automobile workers, by the thousands, flocked to the banner of trade unionism. Here was a chance to strike a decisive blow for trade union organization. But this opportunity the trade union leaders placed inside of a leaden casket and threw it overboard.

No doubt, the automobile "settlement" will go a long way towards cheating the workers in all industries out of some of the recent concessions they have been able to wring out of their masters. The job of the honest and class conscious workers is immediately to reorganize the lines, to clean the ranks for a showdown fight for genuine unionism in the automobile industry. This fight can be won only if behind it are marshalled the entire resources of the trade union movement, if it is waged on the broadest possible basis. Little splinter unions or big noisy paper Red unions which can never win the support of the millions of workers organized in the conservative unions stand less chance than a snowball in hell of serving as the instrument for unionization especially in the automobile industry.

Let every union in the A. F. of L. raise its voice in no unclear terms against this black betrayal. More than this, every trade union in the country should draw the lessons from this defeat of the automobile workers and pledge itself to reform the lines of battle for labor, to back to the limit a national well-planned militant drive for the war on company unionism in the automobile industry and throughout the other industries. It is not yet too late to undo the frightful damage of Green's "serviced" Company unionism can and must be defeated by organized labor itself, otherwise organized labor will be doomed and the road to fascism will be prepared at neck-breaking speed in this country.

## I.C.O. WINS LITH. AFFILIATION

The Lithuanian Workers Society, comprising approximately 1,000 members in 30 branches in various cities of the country, decided without a dissenting voice at its national convention held in Brooklyn on Saturday, March 17, to join fraternally with the International Communist Opposition in the struggle to reunite the International Communist movement and to win the Communist International for correct, Leninist tactics.

Comrade D. Benjamin brought revolutionary greetings from the National Bureau of the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) and appealed to the delegates and the convention to affiliate with the I. C. O., to unite the struggle of the Lithuanian Communist Opposition with that of the C.P. U.S.A. (Opposition). The question was discussed later as a special order of business and after a thorough discussion, the decision was made.

This decision strengthens the struggle of the Communist Opposition, drawing into that struggle important proletarian elements from the coal mines of the Anthracite and of Southern Illinois, from the silk mills of Paterson and Easton, from the steel mills of Pennsylvania, from the clothing shops of New York, as well as from other sections of the country. The Lithuanian Workers Society has great influence among militant Lithuanian workers; in various unions; in fraternal, cultural, and singing societies.

Comrade Pruseika reported for the National Committee of the Lithuanian Workers Society on the work and problems of the organization. Earnest discussion followed on the part of the delegates in which steps were considered for the strengthening of the organization. The importance of drawing in the Youth and educating them along the lines of the class struggle was stressed.

The National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. (Opposition) greets this significant step on the part of the Lithuanian Workers Society and calls upon all its units and members to cooperate closely with the Lithuanian Opposition branches and members, in the various cities to the end that a more effective and united struggle for Communist unity be waged.

## EDITOR'S NOTES

We acknowledge receipt of a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party" issued by The Revolutionary Policy Committee. In the forthcoming issue of Worker Age Jay Lovestone will analyze this document.

For lack of space we are forced to omit from this issue an article on the farm question. We shall resume publication of these in the following issue. We might add that our discussion on farmers' interests has aroused considerable interest. Contributions on this vital problem are welcome.

When we go to press, the General Coordinating Committee has not finished tabulating the full vote of the membership in the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. We will report on this election in the forthcoming issue.

## Progressives Victorious in Local 22 - ILGWU

New York City

An overwhelming victory for the progressive administration of the Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., was registered in the election, March 22. All of the candidates of the Dressmakers Progressive Group, for manager, for executive board, for manager, for executive board, for business agents and for convention delegates, were elected by large majorities and all of the candidates of the Left Group were defeated by a big margin.

The progressive candidate for manager, Charles S. Zimmerman, was reelected by a vote totalling 6837 and amounting to 73% of the valid ballots cast for that office. Morris Stamper, the Left Group candidate, received 2599, or about 27% of the vote. Zimmerman's majority amounted to 4238. The previous year, when Zimmerman also ran against Stamper, the former received 55% the latter 45%

of the vote.

The Victory of the progressives was complete, the twenty-five executive board members, the twenty-three business agents and the sixteen convention delegates being swept into office by huge majorities.

Over 12,000 votes were cast at the twelve polling stations set up in the election. Owing to the great complexity of the ballot (126 names were listed, of whom 70 had to be chosen) and to the inexperience of large numbers of new members who showed the keenest interest in the election and its issues, a considerable number of ballots had to be voided because of mistakes in making them out.

As soon as the results became officially known, Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, issued a statement in the name of the progressive administration.

### ZIMMERMAN'S STATEMENT

In the name of the administration of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., I want to express our profound gratification at the outcome of the Local elections held on Thursday, March 22, 1934. The outpouring of thousands of workers to the polls, so that actually over 12,000 participated in the voting, manifests the active interest of the great masses of the dressmakers in the Union and in its problems, an interest that will stand us in good stead when we come to face the grave tasks of the coming year. The overwhelming majorities received by all the progressive candidates are an eloquent sign that the dressmakers emphatically approve the past record of the progressive administration as well as its program for the future.

We regard this impressive vote (Continued on Page 3)

Sutherland Bates "AN AMERICAN HITLER" April 15, 8 P.M., 51 W. 14 St.

# The Group at Work

by D. Benjamin

The Unemployed Conference of the N. Y. District of the C.P.O. 45 comrades representing all fractions engaged in work in the Unemployed and Relief fields in N. Y. City met this month in a conference called by the N. Y. District Committee. The reports and discussions centered mainly around the problems of work in connection with the Workers Unemployed Union (an amalgamated organization consisting of the former Workers Committee on Unemployment, Association of Unemployed, and Workers Unemployed League) and the various white-collar emergency work and unemployed organizations. The essential task, it was decided was to preserve the non-partisan character of the organizations, and thus lay the basis for a broad movement.

The N. Y. Membership Meeting On Wednesday, March 28 Comrade Lovestone reported at a general membership meeting on "Recent Developments in the International and American Labor and Communist Movement and the Tasks of the Communist Opposition." The report covered developments in Austria, Germany, France, England, Sweden, India, as well as such matters as the Auto Situation, the danger of Company Unionism, the Elections in Dressmakers Local 22, developments in the American Socialist Party, the program of the American Workers Party, and immediate problems of the Communist Party Opposition, especially on the matter of building the organization and spreading the Workers Age. Comrade Lovestone emphasized that the Austrian events again proved the complete bankruptcy of the principles of Social-Democracy, and showed that nothing could be hoped for from a party combining both left-moving workers and those advocating reformism. The task of the CPO of Austria was to establish contact with the members of the Austrian Social Democratic Party moving toward Communism and to crystallize them as the base for the Austrian Communist movement, in view of the bankruptcy of the official Communist party of that country. In the American labor movement the big problem would be to stop the growth of and crush company unionism, to preserve and build up the workers' trade union movement. In this connection the victory of the Progressive Ticket in the Dressmakers Union (Local 22, ILGWU) constituted a decisive victory in that it was a blow to the union-splitting and ultra-left policies of the official Communist party and marked a big step forward for the progressives in the general American labor movement.

Great applause marked the entrance of Comrades Charles Zimmerman, Louis Nelson, and the other dressmaker comrades into the meeting. Comrade Zimmerman spoke briefly on the results of the elections in the Dressmakers Union.

**Extension Of CPO Work**  
The N. Y. District Committee has worked out plans for the establishment of two forums in the Bronx and Brownsville, each to take place every other Sunday. In this way it is hoped to bring the message of the CPO to workers in those important sections of the city, to build the Bronx branch of the CPO, and to establish a branch in Brownsville.

For the past two months a group of workers and intellectuals in Sunnyside, Long Island, interested in Marxism-Leninism and the Socialist and Communist Movements, conducted a class in Marxism and the Revolutionary Working Class Movement. Out of a general list of instructors submitted to the group, Bertram D. Wolfe, Director of the New Workers School, was chosen. The course

was very well attended, 60 to 75 attending regularly. A great deal of interest was aroused in the position and work of the CPO, with the result that 15 members of the class became subscribers to the Workers Age while several joined the CPO.

**Unemployed Work in N. Y. City**  
Members of the CPO have been active in recent developments on this field. Full support was given to the mass delegation sent to Washington, D. C. by the Workers Unemployed Union, the AOEPEE, and other organizations. The CPO donated \$10 and used its influence to get other organizations to give similar support. Collections were made at unit meetings for the purpose. Many members of the CPO were in the delegation that protested against discontinuation of CWA projects and the cutting of wages. The sending of the mass delegation to Washington was followed by a mass meeting in N. Y. C. On Easter Sunday a parade took place on 5th Avenue, in which the unemployed and civil works employees demonstrated for continuation of jobs. Many CPO members participated in the demonstration.

**The Hartford Group at Work**  
The Hartford Unit has cooperated with the International Relief Association in the latter's campaign for relief for the victims of Fascism in Germany and Austria. The I.R.A., it has been reported, is organizing a local committee of trade unionists, professors, ministers, for the carrying on of such a campaign. A banquet is being planned for the near future to raise money for Fascist victims. Again, the Friends of the Soviet Union has shown its partisan and sectarian character by denying a CPO member the right to join the organization.

Work in the Unemployed field continues to be one of the main fields of activity of members of the CPO. The Unemployed Coun-

cils play a very small role in the city, while the Hartford Association of Unemployed has several branches functioning regularly and effectively. At the present time the main campaign is being waged for cash relief and for continuation of the CWA jobs.

**Ft. Wayne Reports Progress**  
Our Ft. Wayne Organization has established a Youth branch. It is up to the CPO branches in other parts of the country to get on the job and follow Ft. Wayne's splendid example. Chicago and Detroit should take note.

Our Ft. Wayne comrades have made progress in another important way. An earnest beginning has been made in trade union work. Connections have been established with workers in several unions in the city. This marks the tackling of one of the gravest shortcomings of our Ft. Wayne organization to date.

The work on the Unemployed Field continues, especially among the single men.

**News From Philadelphia**  
A class in Fundamentals of Communism has just been established in Philadelphia with Comrade Lane as instructor. Comrade Lane is also giving a class in Principles of Trade Unionism in one of the important local unions of the city.

A public meeting under the auspices of the CPO has been scheduled with Comrade Bail as the speaker on the subject "Communism and the Trade Union Movement."

The last affair of the CPO in the city was very successful. One hundred and fifty workers were present. An interesting program was presented, consisting of two short plays given by the Dramatic Studio, as well as dances by the Red Dancers. Comrade Lane, Philadelphia District Organizer, spoke briefly on the important problems facing the international working class.

## C.W.A. DELEGATION IN WASHINGTON PROTEST

(Continued from Page 1)

same results, with the exception, however, that Hopkins gave the committee all the sympathy in the world. Hopkins said that he had absolutely nothing to do regarding the demobilization of the CWA, that he was merely Roosevelt's office boy, compelled to execute orders. When asked by a worker in the committee if it was possible to support a wife and three children, as in his own case, on thirteen dollars a week, the federal relief administrator, and Roosevelt's office boy, replied, "Yes, I know of thousands of workers who receive the same amount from industries." And what about the disbanding of the CWA? What about unemployment insurance? What about... "Sorry, very, very sorry."

The committees sent to the Senate and to the House did not fare any better. All New York Representatives were out of town.

The presence of Norman Thomas in no way affected the delegation. As was stated before, Norman Thomas represented no organization. He came to add his voice to the demands of the delegation. What was unfortunate was that the arrangements committee had failed to obtain trade union representation. Had this been done the nature of the publicity given in the press regarding the delegation would not have been so one-sided.

The most important part of the trip to Washington was that almost 1,000 unemployed and CWA workers went to Washington. Their voices were the voices of millions of workers. Their demands, the demands of millions of workers. No gain was anticipated by the dele-

gation. No one expected to be received by the hostess of the White House in the Blue, Red or any other room. But Roosevelt knows, Washington knows and the whole nation knows that the American working class will not permit itself to be pauperized, that it will fight for its right to live and to live as decent human beings.

The following organizations participated:  
Association of Civil Works Employees, Associated Office & Professional Emergency Employees, Emergency Workers Union, Education, Tenement House CWA Employees, Workers Unemployed Union of N. Y., Unemployed Union of N. J., CWA Workers Union of Reading, Pa., Citizens Unemployed League of Westchester County, Peoples Unemployed League of Baltimore. — A DELEGATE

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## Statement of a Pioneer

The father of the 12 year old pioneer, writing this statement, is B. Baraz, a member of the National Bureau of the Communist Party Opposition and one of the most active workers in the Joint Council of the International Fur Workers Union. The letter needs no comment, it speaks for itself.

father had told me about the evils of capitalism, the strikes and struggles that workers are carrying on for a better life. Therefore it was unbelievable to me that my father should be either a scab or an agent of scabs which means helping the bosses. But comrade Santo insisted that the Daily Worker and the Morning Freiheit could not be gossiping. He insisted that I should try to convince my father, otherwise he will have to go thru with the demonstration.

I am a member of the Morris Langer troop of the International Workers Order and am participating in all the work of my troop. We often discuss questions relating to the working class.

Last week my leader asked me what I would do if my father were to become a scab or a scab agent. I answered that I would try to convince him how bad it is to be a scab. I was puzzled why this question came up now and why I was asked to answer this question.

But my leader walked me home one night and told me that my father was a scab agent and that he had received instructions to arrange a demonstration against my father near our home. I tried hard to convince Comrade Santo, my troop leader, that my father is unemployed for a long time and that I was sure that regardless of our suffering, he would never go to scab. I explained to him how my

I rushed home crying. For hours I could not talk. Finally my father succeeded in explaining to me all about the fight the Communist Party is carrying on against all the Lovestonites. It is hard for me yet to judge who is right and who is wrong. One thing I do know is, that my father has a right to think the way he does and that we children are not to be dragged into the fight the adults are carrying on amongst themselves.

Children have an obligation to their parents. I especially owe a lot to my parents who always try to educate me and bring me up in a proletarian spirit. Anyone who tries to make me take a stand against my parents is neither helping me nor the movement. I there-

(Continued on page 3)

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# The Economic Fallacies of the N. R. A.

We conclude in this issue the second article by Jay Lovestone, in the series "The Economics of the Roosevelt Program." In the next issue will appear the concluding article on "Perspectives of the New Deal."—Editor.

(Continued from previous issue)

## Reasons for Present Monetary Policy

What are the reasons for the present monetary policy of the Roosevelt Administration? There is no doubt, the American capitalist class has plenty of gold and is even rapidly getting back a good deal of the gold it had lost a couple of years ago. Besides, there is more money in circulation today than there was in the dizziest days of the New Era of Hoover. No shortage of gold or money plagues the country and, therefore, this cannot be the source of the Roosevelt monetary program. The reasons for the Roosevelt currency program must be looked for elsewhere. The farmers have suffered acutely from the disparity of prices between industrial and agricultural products. This disparity was still more aggravated by the very price-raising efforts of the Administration last summer. Hence, serious discontent engulfed the rural areas. Soon, the dollar valuation drive was launched. This, however, will not overcome the disparity of prices, though it may bring a momentary and superficial price increase for agricultural commodities. Mere manipulation of currency flow doesn't at all touch, let alone fundamentally change, the basic relationship between agriculture and industry under capitalism, in which the price disparity is rooted.

Another reason animating the recent gold-buying spree of the Chief Executive and motivating the dollar-cheapening policy of the President is the Administration's desperate effort to bring about a revival of production through an increased sale of American goods in the world market. The Brain Trust reasons something like this: A devaluated dollar, as against foreign currencies, will enable the European buyers to give less of their national currency for American commodities. Therefore, they will rush to buy American products. For the sake of argument, let us grant that the President scores a remarkable success here. The very magnificence of this success only hastens the collapse of his entire policy. Should American exports be substantially stimulated through the cheapening of the dollar, then, other countries will resort to the same trick, retaliation will follow speedily other currencies will be depreciated at least as much, or even more, —all in order to counteract the lowering of the value of the dollar and the extent to which it may have served to stimulate American exports. The British experience in this field affords any thing but a glowing tribute to the efficacy of managed currency as a business-boomer in the world market. British imperialism has failed to raise prices of its commodities in its home market or to secure a revival of its production and foreign trade thru the ventures in the realm of managed currency. The fact of the matter is that the prices of basic commodities are fixed in the world market by world conditions.

All the national attempts at artificial price-manipulation only serve to disturb, only undermine in the long run the economic structure itself. Such attempts cannot determine for a long time the prices of basic commodities. Interesting light on this matter is shed by the findings of the German Institute for Studying Trade Fluctuations. Its investigation and calculations of gold prices of the leading countries, both on and off the gold standard, that is with gold currencies and depreciated currencies, shows that: "Of the 21 countries the United States has the lowest gold prices." From this the Institute concludes that "The ineffectiveness of mere exchange depreciation as a price-raising instrument" is obvious.

## The World Currency Chaos

5. World currency chaos is a direct consequence of the New Deal economic policies. The monetary policy of the Roosevelt administration aggravates the instability and the speculative nature of economy both at home and abroad.

In the early post war period it was assumed that all the great problems of economic readjustment would be solved by returning to the gold standard. This assumption has been smashed by subsequent developments. The return to the gold standard was achieved but this "soothing" force has been transformed into an irritating and disruptive force in world capitalist economy. Thus, British financial experts have been saying that England returned to the gold standard prematurely. In this crisis the retreat from the gold standard has been, instead, hailed as the cure-all. This shuffling to and from the gold standard has now become so universal a practice that most of the big capitalist countries have actually launched monetary policies which spell an international race for bigger and better depreciation of national currencies. The mainprayer of these efforts is to beat competitors in the world markets. However, the remedy of

## The Roosevelt Program - II

beating competitors thru the depreciation of currencies doesn't end competition but only intensifies it and tempts it to a much higher level. Likewise, all attempts at "planning" and stabilization by means of inonly intensify the fluctuation and enhance the speculative character of the entire system of production and exchange.

## Effects Of Currency Fluctuation

What are the worst effects of the Roosevelt program on the international currency system and on the stability of world economic relations? The rubber dollar only aggravates the cyclical movements of business because of its unstable foundation. Because of the fluctuating yield of the gold mines, artificially stimulated, the instability of the crisis is still more accentuated. This further intensifies the checks to general equilibrium caused by the internal changes in one country. It is not the paucity of gold that is a source of infection but rather the maldistribution. We cannot underscore with too great emphasis the fact that the very repeated raising of the price of gold doesn't lead to a redistribution but only to a worsening of the maldistribution of gold. The objective logic of this leads to a demonetization of gold first by the weaker countries, then by the stronger ones, and then by the strongest as well. The general instability of national exchanges further jeopardizes the possibility of internal revival and expansion.

## Currency Value And Gold Supply

The extent of the decay of the international system of exchange is most glaringly reflected in the currency crisis. For example, in the past, the greater the supply of gold in a country the higher the value of its currency. This so-called normal relationship between national gold supply and currency is at an end. In the two leading capitalist countries, United States and England, the reverse process has actually begun to set in. Both America and England have been shoved off the gold standard. Both less in gold than some months ago when their gold supply was smaller than it is today. And should France drop or suspend the gold standard this explosive will be felt still more widely. Once France begins to sell its gold hoards neither the Dollar nor the Pound will welcome it. It may force the British authorities to abandon their present control over the gold market. It would take the edge of Roosevelt's weapon of buying gold in order to equip the dollar as a stimulus to American export trade. In the dictions of the capitalist system and the consequent congealed misery of the masses over a period of centuries. It was in full recognition of this historical meaning of the role of gold in capitalist relations that Lenin once wrote:

"When we conquer on a world scale we shall, I think, use gold for making public lavatories in the streets of the great cities of the world. That would be the most 'just' and graphically edifying use of gold for the generations which have not forgotten that for gold 10,000,000 people were massacred and 30,000,000 people were crippled in the 'great liberation' war of 1914-1918."

## Factors Retarding Monetary Policies

There are six decisive factors standing in the way of success for the Roosevelt monetary policies. Briefly stated these are: a) The huge basic capital resources of the United States tend to enhance the intrinsic value of the dollar in the world currency market. b) With all the chiselling of the gold content of the dollar the United States still has a higher gold ratio as reserve than the other big capitalist countries. c) Because of the great quantity of dollars necessary for payment for American commodities as well as interest on exported capital, it will be necessary for foreign countries, time and again, to buy dollars in bulk. This will tend to raise the price of dollars above the level fixed by the Administration. d) The moment that the Roosevelt devaluation strategy should show any signs of effectiveness in the world market, then, it would crystallize blocs of countries against it, which blocs will be able to pool their equalization funds to match America's. e) The dollar devaluation program tends artificially to raise the price of commodities and thus bring on boomlets on the stock market. When the stock market in New York begins to boom the European money-men also seek to cash in by entering the speculative market on Wall Street. To do this the European capitalists must purchase American dollars with which to buy stocks on the rise. As the stock market booms the quantity of dollars, so purchased, rises and there is thus developed a force to counteract the devaluation of the dol-

lar decreed in Washington. f) The sum total of these operations is the further attraction of gold to America's vaults and a resulting further disproportioned control of the world's gold supply. This means a still more grave unbalancing of international gold distribution. In short, the new Roosevelt remedy merely aggravates an old capitalist course.

## Basis For A Worst Crisis

6. Through the stimulation of monopoly control the New Deal tends, in some respects, not only to interfere with the so-called natural processes of recovery but also this works. First of all, the monopolists contribute to a worsening of the agrarian crisis by reducing the market-wages. Then, the monopolists, as purchasers of agricultural products in large quantities utilize their position to Monopoly hinders the solution of the crisis in another fashion. This is through the maintenance of the monopoly prices in the home market despite the fact that, in reality, a reduction of the price level to the level of the considerable this monopolist circle manifests itself something like this. The trusts are in a better position to keep up prices artificially, to cut down production, thus to foster and extend unemployment and consequently to have a chance to cut wages still more.

The monopolists attempt to maintain the rate of profits at the expense of farmers and other unorganized producers and at the expense of colonial countries by forcing upon them low monopoly prices when purchasing raw material from them. Still more, one must recognize that the enhancement of the monopolistic control of economic life of the country brings with it an enhancement of the biggest business control of the state machinery. Through this strengthened hold on the government apparatus the monopolists are further enabled to take away rights from the great masses of the toilers and thus put the latter at a further disadvantage in the economic system.

## Relation of Inflation to Wages and Prices

7. Inflation, whether it be just plain inflation or so-called controlled inflation, cuts the purchasing power of the workers by putting wages at a still more disadvantageous relationship to prices. The instability of currency which is the heart of inflation and the corner stone of the New Deal economic program, thus tends to undermine the standard of living of the great mass of people in the country. It has a disastrous effect on the small salaried and middle class folk, on the people earning so-called stable or relatively fixed salaries in contradistinction to the buoyant effect it has on the income of the big property holders and large equity owners. A fixed salary paid in tubercular dollars does not mean a robust income for professionals; but giving more dollars for property parcels certainly spells an enhanced purchasing power and control of money by those who own considerable equity.

## Inflation And Industry

Inflation brings more uncertainty and feverishness into industry—both in its upward and downward trends. This was clearly illustrated in the heydays of the New Deal upswing last summer. By mid-August of 1933 the index of production in the textile industry reached 163. By the close of September it dropped to 78, or a level much below the corresponding month of 1932 when it was 93.1. Obviously, inflation in the long run aggravates the gap between the rising productive capacities and the, at best, less rising or constant and more often diminishing consumption possibilities. All in all, inflation is a morphine cure. While giving the illusion of immediate relief, it undermines the physical and spiritual base of the entire socio-economic system of capitalism.

## New Deal Aggravates Crisis of Capitalism

8. Finally, the New Deal economic program is to be indicted on the grounds that it, at best, fails to solve any of the main basic contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of production and exchange. In a long range sense, the New Deal program even serves to aggravate the following outstanding contradictions of capitalism in the United States.

a) The conflict between social production and private appropriation. b) The struggle between the exploiter and the exploited, between the capitalist and the employer or disemployed worker. c) The gap between the productive capacities and the consumption possibilities which has its gravest social manifestation in the existence and growth not only of a huge permanent industrial reserve army but in the mounting ranks of an army of permanently unemployed. d) The conflict of interests in the world market.

## PROGRESSIVES WIN

(Continued from Page 1)

of confidence as a mandate and a trust from the membership, which we take very seriously indeed. The past year has been one of building our Union. The coming year must be one of vigorous consolidation of our gains and firm strengthening of our organization. We fully realize the very difficult situation that will face us in the year to come. There is danger that the recent campaign of the employers to reduce standards and evade the obligations of the agreement, especially the minimum wage scale provisions, will be extended and intensified in the approaching months. It will be the first task of our Union not only to smash these vicious attempts to rob us of

the achievements of the great general strike but also to move forward to ever greater gains, to the 30-hour week and higher minimum scales, to the week work system, to unemployment insurance. The deep interest of so many thousands of dressmakers in the affairs of our Union, as reflected in the elections, and the unshakable support given by the membership to the progressive administration of our Local, enable us to declare with great assurance that these grave problems will be squarely met and vigorously tackled. The striking demonstration of the confidence of

the membership will strengthen our determination and fire our enthusiasm in leading the 30,000 dressmakers of our Local along the road of progressive, militant unionism!

The elections were conducted in the most thoroly democratic manner and thru them the dressmakers received the most ample opportunity of expressing their will as to which policies and which leadership are best for our Union. Their answer is decisive and overwhelming. We now express the earnest hope that all elements in our Union will drop the passions stirred up

in the heat of the campaign and will realize the vital necessity of firmly uniting our ranks in a solid front against the employers. The progressive administration of our Local, fully conscious of the heavy responsibility falling upon it with the outcome of the elections, solemnly pledges to do everything in its power to mobilize and unify the ranks of the dressmakers for a vigorous struggle to defend our past gains and to keep on improving the working and living conditions of the tens of thousands of workers in our trade!

(Signed) Charles S. Zimmerman

## STATEMENT OF A PIONEER

(Continued from Page 2)

fore condemn the provocation aimed to discredit my father.

Surely I wouldn't like to leave the troop. I like the children comrades. But in acting so you are forcing me out. I shall never forget the poison which you are trying to spread.

With Pioneer greetings,  
Mary Baraz  
Member of Morris Langer  
Troop, Bath Beach.

Don't Fail to Read the

MAY DAY ISSUE  
WORKERS AGE

Prof. Geo. S. Counts "CRISIS IN EDUCATION"  
Apr. 22, 8P. M., 51 W. 14 St.

# THE REVISION OF THE CITY CHARTER

## Its Significance for the Workers

by Jack Smith

The question of the revision of the City Charter of the City of New York, has lately become an issue in the legislative bodies of the City and State of New York. The rash proposals of the Seabury investigation committee which were endorsed and supported by Mayor La Guardia, prior to his election as Mayor, have aroused the indignation and opposition to the move of Seabury and La Guardia to revise the city charter and especially to the question of proportional representation is so strong that it threatens the entire La Guardia administration, in that each and every move of La Guardia is being opposed by a united front of both the democratic and republican representatives in the board of aldermen and in the State legislative bodies (La Guardia economy bills, etc.)

### The Provisions For The City Charter Revision

The recommendations of the Seabury investigation committee dealing with the fundamental changes of the city charter are as follows:

1. One single legislative chamber or council.
2. That the members of the council shall be elected by Boroughs, upon a non-partisan ballot without party designation or party emblems and under a sys-

tem of proportional representation, the result of which would be that every group sufficiently strong to be entitled thereto would be represented in the Council, each according to its relative strength . . . (Seabury report)

As regards the number of votes that shall be necessary to elect a representative to the above council or legislative chamber, Mr. Seabury proposes the following:

"Section 16, Sub.d. Quota sufficient to elect. The quota of votes sufficient to the election of a member of the council shall be 50,000. Whenever at any stage of the counting the number of ballots credited to a candidate becomes equal to the quota, he shall be declared elected and no ballots in excess of the quota shall be credited to him . . ."

Then come a series of proposals how to compute the votes and what to do with the votes that a candidate may have in excess of the necessary amount for election.

In other words the recommendation proposes to abolish the board of aldermen and the various other boards filled with Tammany office holders, and to substitute therefore one council known as the legislative chamber. This is part of

the Seabury-La Guardia so called economy program—to simplify the government apparatus, reduce a lot of conflicting unnecessary boards and save expenses. By this the Seabury-La Guardia group hoped to kill two birds with one stone: weaken the grip of Tammany Hall on the city administration and save the unnecessary expenses of the various superfluous boards and officers.

### Proportional Representation

The most important part of the recommendations, however, is the question of proportional representation. At present the city of New York is divided into about 65 aldermanic districts, with each district entitled to an alderman. The aldermen as well as all other officials in the City of New York, as well as over the United States, are elected by a majority vote. At the time of election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes in his district is elected. This often creates a situation where the total vote of the other candidates in the same district, is much larger than the vote of the candidate elect, which in turn means that only a minority of that district is

actually represented. This creates the possibility for the strongest political party to keep its hegemony and control over the entire city administration despite the fact that actually it has the support of only a minority of the voting population. This situation is what helped the Democratic machine to become so strong and influential in city politics.

The Seabury-La Guardia group raised the war cry against the corrupt Tammany clique, whose corruption and graft began to irritate even the capitalist leaders, in order to "save the City of New York." They sought to compete politically and organizationally with the Democratic and Republican parties. They realized however, that all attempts to defeat the Tammany hold on city politics will be futile as long as the present form of elections is prevalent; that in spite of the fact that now and then a situation may arise when an opposition group is swept into power by the revolting mood of the voters against the corruption of the ruling machine, yet such victory will be only temporary unless the entire system of elections is changed. In his final report on the findings and recommendations of his investigation committee, Mr. Seabury states:

"It became apparent that the very form and structure of the city government was in a large measure responsible for the opportunities for graft and corruption which were disclosed before the committee. These defects in our governmental form and structure result from the primary and election machinery which is now in effect, by which a minority of the voters in the city are enabled, by means of their political organization, to take and keep absolute control of the government in effect disfranchising all others. . . ."

These proposals were made by Seabury, the political leader of the Fusion party, at a time when his party was yet in its infancy, and at best was a bourgeois opposition party smaller than either of other two capitalist parties. It needed, and sought for, a constitution and election law whereby it would be assured of some representation in the governmental bodies and the result was the recommendation for a new city charter.

What happened, however, at the polls last November changed the

progressivism triumphed over mock-revolutionary sectarianism, even though the latter is backed by immeasurably greater forces and resources. And let it not be assumed that this lesson is entirely lost on the members and supporters of the C.P. in Local 22!

### For A National Progressive Movement

The triumph of the progressives in Local 22 raises to a new level the hard struggle to rebuild a national progressive-left wing tendency in the American labor movement. Whatever of such a tendency had managed to crystallize by 1927—and considerable progress had been made among the needle trades workers, miners, textile workers, machinists and other sections of organized labor—was almost wiped out with the sudden forces of the official Communist dual unionism and union splitting. Slowly and in response to the initiative of the Communist Opposition, new left wing forces are beginning to emerge in union after union, opposed with equal vigor to the class-collaborationist policies of the conservative officialdom and to the dual unionism of the spurious "Lefts", new left wing forces standing on a platform of constructive militancy and the unity of labor. The impressive triumph of this tendency in a labor organization of nearly 30,000 workers will not only stimulate the movement all along the line but will also speed the day when it will reach the stage of national consolidation and organization!

entire picture. From an opposition group the Fusion party became the administration party. The economic conditions, the near bankruptcy of the city administration and the consequent revolt of the voters against the Tammany and Republican machines had swept the opposition Fusion party into office and made it responsible for the affairs of the city administration. From mere oppositionist the Fusion party suddenly became the majority party and was vested with actual "responsibility" of "saving the city." . . .

### Change In Conditions Necessitated Change In Policy

With its election into office the Seabury-La Guardia group was immediately confronted with concrete tasks. They realized that in order not to prove a still bigger failure than the previous Tammany administration they must have at least some support from the leaders of the Democratic party such as Lehman, Roosevelt, etc., and some Democratic and Republican aldermen in the City of New York. They also realized that for the ruling class, of which they as well as the Democratic and Republican parties are devoted representatives, the question of proportional representation is of much less importance than the question of cutting the overhead expenses and thereby saving the entire city government institution from bankruptcy and collapse. They further realized that the capitalist class as such is opposed to proportional representation; and furthermore they have realized that for them the question of proportional representation was no more an immediate issue, as they were already in office. Their primary task now became to seek the support of their previous political opponents, the Democratic and Republican politicians, for their economy measures, which is simply a huge wage slashing and job-cutting plan.

### La Guardia And Seabury Retreat

Their first step in the direction of shelving the question of the charter revision and especially the question of proportional representation was the assent to the appointment of a charter commission, a majority of which is against the plan as proposed by Seabury. Out of the entire commission only Seabury and Norman Thomas, who is in full agreement with him, are for the plan as proposed originally by Seabury. The recommendations of this commission can easily be foreseen.

However, this was not the only retreat that both Seabury and La Guardia made in this respect. In a speech before the New York City League of Women Voters, at a luncheon in Hotel Astor, held on February 10, 1934, Mayor La Guardia declared that he is for separating the question of proportional representation from the question of a new city charter generally. He justified his proposal by the fact that many people will vote against proportional representation, while they may vote for the other provisions of the revised city charter.

His speech was reported in the press on Sunday, February 11, 1934. On Monday, February 12, 1934, Mr. Seabury rushed a statement to the press solidifying himself with the view of Mayor La Guardia. Thus the Fusion party has ditched the most important part of the Seabury recommendations. They have definitely shifted their forces in support of the opposition to the revision of the charter in the hope of securing some minor changes in the charter and city apparatus.

### The Role Of The Socialists

The leaders of the Socialist party, true to their line of class collaboration and political orientation, cooperated with and supported the Seabury-La Guardia group to the fullest extent. For them the entire question was merely one of a chance to get a representative or two elected to the future council. They therefore tried to be represented at all "cabinet" conferences where the question of the charter was discussed. And when no Socialist was named on the

## Dressmakers Crush Dualism

by Will Herberg

The sensational victory of the progressives in the elections in Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., which took place on March 22, is of deep significance to the whole labor movement of this country. It is not simply that this local union has a membership of nearly 30,000, thus topping many international unions in the A. F. of L. Nor is it simply that this local union has made an enviable place for itself in American labor annals by its long record of militancy and achievement. It is rather that, in this organization and in these elections, the various tendencies coming before the workers with a bid for support as pointing the way for the future of unionism in America, met in a fight to the finish—and the results mark a milestone in the development of the new progressive-left wing movement now making itself felt in many sections of organized labor.

### Reactionaries Wiped Out

The reactionary forces in Local 22, representing the conservative class-collaborationist tendency in the I.L.G.W.U., had been so smashed by the three years of progressive rule that they could not even put up a separate ticket in the elections. Whatever discredited remnants remained to them, they characteristically enough threw to the support of the so-called "Lefts", the official Communist Party group in the local. They ceased to be an independent factor in the struggle altho there are some indications that their revival in one form or another in the future is not altogether out of the question.

### Dressmakers Crush "Left Group"

The "Left Group", its ranks augmented by the hundreds of dressmakers who came from the Industrial Union into the International after the general strike of last August, entered the campaign with the loudly proclaimed expectation of sweeping everything before it. All the forces of the Communist Party, of the Trade Union Unity League, of the Industrial Union and of the innumerable C.P. auxiliaries were thrown in behind it; never, in fact, had the resources, moral and material of the official Communist movement been so completely mobilized in a trade union election struggle. The tactics of the "Left Group" were indicative of the nature of the group. It made not the slightest attempt to present a factual criticism of the work of the progressive administration or even a positive pro-

gram of any sort of its own. It staked everything upon a campaign of unscrupulous demagoguery and brazen lying, hoping evidently to confuse the many thousands of new members of the union and to profit by the confusion. It very deliberately turned its fight into a campaign of the most unbridled personal abuse against Charles S. Zimmerman, the leader of the progressive forces. With a recklessness born of utter lack of principle, it was ready to sink to the depth of trying to stir up race prejudice as an election issue and to resort to election dodges that are regarded as discreditable in Tammany circles! But do what it might, it could not free itself of the crushing burden of dual unionism and union splitting. All its evasions profited it nothing; it could not hide the damning bonds that tied it to the union splitting T.U.U.L. and to the dualist Industrial Union!

### Masses Support Progressives

The campaign of the dressmakers Progressive Group, on the other hand, was indeed a model of the campaign of progressive unionism. The progressives realized from the very beginning that it was their responsibility and privilege to draw the many thousands of new members, utterly inexperienced in the labor movement, into active participation in union affairs, to educate them in the spirit of class conscious unionism, to bring to them a realization that the future of the union was in their hands. That over 12,000 dressmakers came out to vote—an almost unparalleled proportion in American labor organizations—is eloquent testimony to the success of the progressives in this task.

### "Lefts" Disappointed In "NIRA-Babies"

Nothing, indeed, could illustrate better the unwholesome character of the "Left Group" in contrast to the healthy militancy of the progressives, than the shameful attitude of the self-styled "revolutionists" to the thousands of dressmakers who flocked into the union during and after the general strike. The very same workers, to win whom the "Lefts" were ready to resort to the most vulgar demagoguery, were suddenly transformed into "NIRA-babies" as soon as our cynical "Communists" discovered that they had turned out in thousands to vote for Zimmerman and

the progressives! (See the Freiheit of March 24, 1934).

### Progressives Made Clean Fight

The Progressive Group made its fight squarely upon the record of the administration in the past and upon its program for the future. It conducted a sharp and effective fight to expose the reckless campaign of confusion of the "Lefts" and to clear the atmosphere of their poison gas of abuse and misrepresentation. But it never descended to personalities nor, above all, in spite of its mixed political composition, did it ever allow itself to be betrayed for an instant into an anti-Communist position by its crusade against the reckless demagogues falsely parading under the banner of Communism!

### Entire Progressive Ticket Elected

The victory of the progressives was a smashing one indeed! Every single one of its candidates was elected by huge majorities and the entire "Left" slate was wiped out without a trace. A year before, the "Lefts" had polled 45% of the vote for manager and had elected nine of the twenty-five members of the executive board, all that they had put up! Now they polled only 27% of the vote for manager and elected not one single executive board member, business agent or convention delegate!

### The Way To Defeat Dual Unionism

And this smashing victory was accomplished thru an election in which democracy of the most unlimited sort reigned supreme. Even the "Lefts" themselves could find hardly anything to complain of. This was confirmed again our oft-emphasized contention that the defeat of dual unionism can be brought about not by arbitrary expulsions or heresy-hunting rulings but rather by a clear and uncompromising ideological struggle, by promising the masses of the union membership themselves against it and in support of the program of progressive unionism.

### A Test Of Strength

Like a drunken gambler, the official Communist Party staked everything on the Local 22 elections. Not we but they themselves announced to the whole world that these elections would be a test of political strength between the official C.P. and the "Lovestonettes" on the trade union field. The results speak for themselves. Again has the policy of constructive pro-

# THE FURRIERS FIGHT FOR A UNION

By this time the policy of the Communist Party Opposition in the trade unions, namely: that of staying in them, has received widespread recognition among all class conscious workers who are interested and personally involved in this much disputed question.

## Dual Unionism Dies Hard

Hard sledding before we were successful in convincing them? Yes, very hard. Dual unionism is an affliction of trade union militants that resists eradication stubbornly, especially when constantly reinfected by a cowardly and reactionary labor union leadership. But by persistent campaigning against dual unionism we are sure to await a situation when all but the blindest concede our far-sightedness. Such is the present period. With a great surge forward many hundreds of thousands of workers joined and keep on joining up with the official labor movement in this country; and the sponsors of dual unionism, at this time, the official Communist Party, stand discredited before even their own followers.

But dual unionism dies hard. Though our course is publicly justified in nearly all trades, the Communist Party Opposition is still questioned as to the wisdom of its policy in the fur trade. If it were merely a matter of dispassionate discussion we would be confident of quick success in times like these. On the one hand, the C.P. leaders, trembling lest they lose their one and only "union" in the T.U.U.L., resort to a most savage reign of terror against the followers of our policy, to prevent discussion. Resort also to open treachery to the fur workers, flagrantly selling out long won conditions to the employers in return for verbal, not formal, recognition. In the course of this article I hope to be able to prove this.

## Cannon Dispenses Advice

When this comes from the official C.P. fighting for its discredited political life, it is not pardonable but understandable. But to meet with the same type of slander from a snivelling, political group that declares itself against dual unionism, is as thoroughly nauseating as the sight of a confused pup trying to eat what it has just deposited. I am here referring to an editorial signed by James P. Cannon in the March 24th issue of the Militant, the Trotskyite paper.

James P. Cannon, who comes skipping gayly, from a wrecked hotel workers strike, into the furriers situation, complains that the Lovestonites joined the Joint Council "in order to be in on the ground

original charter commission they filled all lobbies with their protests until they succeeded in having Norman Thomas appointed as a member of the commission. Now they are satisfied and feel that "democracy was saved". In no report or article in the New Leader was the question of proportional representation raised, in its relation to the class struggle.

## Proportional Representation And The Working Class

The question of proportional representation must be placed and analyzed from the following view points: a) What interest does the proletariat have in this question? b) Will the class struggle gain or lose under a system of proportional representation?

The parliamentary struggle will not bring the ultimate victory of the working class, only through a proletarian dictatorship will the working class proceed to the building and establishment of a socialist order of society. While the socialist leaders regard parliamentary rights and representation as ends in themselves, communists look on the parliamentary struggle as a means of advancing and sharpening the class struggle.

It can not be underestimated as one of the means of working class struggle against capitalism. The question of proportional representation is, for the working class of the United States, of specific importance. In my opinion the present election system is an

floor." As though we didn't suspect what an unprincipled fight the Party's dual union would put up! "The ground floor"—Yes, we're in on the ground floor—the emergency clinics in the city's hospitals, preparatory to getting a ban on a floor higher up. One of our comrades, Joe Farber, is now spending his fourth week waiting for a broken leg to mend.

Just now, however, my chief concern is with the rank and file followers of dual unionism in the fur trade, not the Cannon type, for there are none, but those who believe in the Industrial Union. They say the following: "Here the situation is different; here the Industrial Union has a majority of the furriers; here the leadership is talented, they are revolutionary and there the A. F. of L. union, the Joint Council, has only a few members. Why have the Lovestonites gone into the Joint Council instead of staying with the Industrial Union?"

I want to take up these questions in succession and answer them.

## Who Has The Majority?

"The situation is different, they have the majority." First it is necessary to assert that the Industrial Union has very far from a majority now, whatever they might have had before. Nobody will challenge the fact that of the 10,000 or so furriers in New York the vast bulk are in neither union. I will grant though that the dual union has 2,000 members or even 2,500 whereas the Joint Council can show no more than a membership of about 1,500 in good standing. They have no majority. Secondly, even if the Industrial Union did have the majority in its ranks we Oppositionists would still be against the isolation of the fur workers from the rest of the labor movement. The furriers have paid bitterly for seven years in wages, hours and general conditions for their isolation. We are part of the other needle trades and only by marching side by side with them can we hold what we fight for. While other trades are now making a decent living, we are treated like paupers by the bosses. And no wonder! We cannot speak with the authority of one united labor organization.

As To Revolutionary Leadership The second question raised is, "But the Industrial Union leadership is revolutionary, capable."

important factor in the political backwardness of the working masses in the United States. The two party system is wielding such a tremendous influence, mainly due to the present system of representation. The idea of "vote for the best man", propagated by the leaders of the A.F.L. and other betrayers of the American working class, plays such an important role because of the present system of representation. The fact that at this stage there is still no broad labor party movement in the United States nor even any movement for independent political action among the workers is also largely due to the fact that the workers feel that under the present system a labor party can not hope to get representation of any importance. The question of proportional representation is therefore closely related and intertwined with the question of independent political action on the part of the workers. The more the question of independent political action will become an issue, the more the question of proportional representation will come to the forefront, and vice versa.

It is therefore in the interests of the class struggle to raise the issue of proportional representation to the governing bodies and develop a movement around it and for it. Instead of being a cabinet question of the bourgeois parties it can and should become an issue for the workers. A united front of the progressive labor organizations should be organized around this issue.

## Unionism in the Fur Industry

by Michael Intrator

Yes, they are revolutionary, but they are revolutionists gone haywire. They are puppets of a Party leadership that is leftist, bound to carry out instructions that bring ruin to the furriers. On the one hand you have that capable "leader" Ben Gold, involving the union in every revolutionary but stupid political adventure the Party playboys order and on the other hand you have him using his "talents" in bargaining away the conditions of the workers. And this is not just another epithet. Here are the facts: At the end of last year, when the workers in Joint Council shops were, for the first time, enjoying the 35 hour week, which, it is true, the employers had voluntarily granted, the talented Ben Gold was negotiating for the renewal of an agreement with a Fur Trimming Manufacturers Ass'n., with whom the Industrial Union had contractual relations. When these employers threatened not to renew the agreement, Ben Gold's talents served him well. He agreed to grant the bosses the 40 hour week, hiding the extra 5 hours under the revolutionary cloak of "overtime," when all overtime was for-

bidden. And with the brazen statement that the workers prefer 40 hours and a revolutionary union, to 35 hours and an A. F. of L. "joint," the talented demagogue railroaded thru endorsement of the pact over our comrades opposition.

## The Genius Of Leadership

That is not the only piece of work, which from a conservative leader would be obvious treachery, but from Ben Gold, I will generously term "talent." This talent for maneuvering assumes the proportions of outright genius, when our sterling revolutionist proceeds to organize a "rabbit manufacturers ass'n." This in order that the alleged union have an agreement with somebody, after the previously mentioned trimming association severed relations with them. (A 35 hour agreement was later obtained from this body by the Joint Council.) The newly organized "rabbit men" is just a polite term for a group of sweat shop contractors, which the unions and bona fide employers have always tried to put out of business. The third important piece of treachery, I mean talent, is the hasty organization of a contractors' association, which went to Washington and under the protection of the existing squawk raised by the petty

shop-keepers fighting against the trusts, succeeded in obtaining a legal status in the fur code. "The little 'sweater' must be protected," say Roosevelt, Borah and Ben Gold. This is proven by the fact that the Contractors Ass'n in its drive declared a lockout to gain its ends and the next day the Industrial Union announced it had all the locked out workers on "strike." A strike for what? For an agreement with the contractors. Thus granting them union recognition. Some of the 150 workers affected by this lockout came to the Joint Council and were told the union would place them in bona fide shops. Even if one grants the intentions, the fact must be recognized that they operate under the philosophy of "beggars cannot be choosers." That's why they readily give away the hard-earned conditions of the workers.

## Some Industrial Union Methods

Other characteristics of this revolutionary union? Yes! Here: Enormously high dues, because in addition to the regular dues there is an unbearable system of petty and constant weekly collections for numerous purposes, too many to detail. And try and refuse to pay! A staff of no less than 21 business agents, who go into the shops—and with a method that smacks too much like racketeering—collect

(Continued on Page 7)

# Opportunism Wrecks a Strike

by Harry Hill

The strike of the hotel and restaurant workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union ended on February 28, with a defeat for the workers.

To understand the reasons for this defeat and to draw the proper lessons we must examine the leadership of the union and the policies which it pursued before and during the strike.

## The Background Of The Strike

The split in the A. F. W., engineered by the Communist Party, left our branch of the union much weakened. It led a precarious existence down to about six months prior to the strike call, when signs of revival and growth were to be noted. These signs were due not so much to the leadership of the union as to the intolerable conditions which years of weak unionism had brought. The general situation was very favorable for organization and for a drive for improvement of conditions.

## The Old Leadership And The Trotskyites

At this time the union was in the hands of a very weak group of people who had neither the organizational ability to utilize this situation nor had they an outlook or perspective for building the union. They were satisfied to hold on.

Into this situation came the Trotskyites, with Fields as their leader. He quickly wormed himself into the secretaryship of the union and prepared to show everyone what a fallacious Trotskyite would do.

The policies which the Trotskyites began to carry out in the union positively amazed every progressive and thinking worker in the union. Whether these policies were due to lack of trade union experience or to the deliberate conservative policies of their leader, B. J. Fields, is immaterial. The fact remains that Fields, in his search for a base of support in the union, found it in the reactionary administration of the union and began to borrow liberally from their stock in trade.

## Chasing Blue Eagles

The bosses quickly sensed the menace of the growing strength of our union and began a systematic policy of purging the hotels of the most aggressive union workers. Our group and the progressives generally proposed, at that time, to immediately launch an intensive organization drive with the aim of calling a general strike around New Year.

## The Policy Pursued In The Strike

The previous subservient attitude to the Regional Labor Board was continued. The healthy and vigorous militancy of the strikers was systematically curbed and discouraged. When the General Strike Committee decided to have a picket demonstration at the Hotel Astor when President Roosevelt was there, the leadership cancelled this decision. Instead Fields rushed in to the press with a statement that the union will not embarrass President thru a mass picket demonstration. The same occurred when Mrs. Roosevelt came to New York for a function at a leading hotel.

The whole attitude of the leadership was one of achieving respectability. This they secured but not one iota of gain for the workers.

## The Secret Agreement

The first draft of an agreement, prepared without authorization of any strike organ, actually did not even demand increases in wages or decreases in working hours (we are now working about 54 hours). Instead it called for no decreases in wages and no increases in working hours. We fought against this agreement and succeeded in having it defeated and a new agreement drafted.

When it became clear toward the end of the strike that recognition of the union was impossible to secure and we proposed a provision for the recognition of shop delegates, Fields and his supporters spoke and voted against the proposal.

## Workers In Deep Resentment

These are but a few examples, many more could be cited, to show the course pursued by the leadership which resulted in disaster. The reaction of the workers to these methods, which devalued the strike and made success impossible, is one of deep resentment against all those responsible. Even the majority of the Trotskyites ultimately disclaimed responsibility for the events of the strike. Gitlow solidarily himself completely with the whole reactionary policy of Fields and therefore bears as much responsibility for the outcome as does B. J. Fields.

## The Role Of The Industrial Union

The Food Workers Industrial Union attempted to call a dual strike but after the first couple of days it became apparent that they had practically no support. The few workers that had supported them went over to the A.F.W. where they continue their efforts to capture the organization by cashing in on the defeat and the ensuing demoralization.

## The Tasks Ahead

Our union is today not in the best of condition as a result of the strike. The leadership now is even talking about continuing to picket, despite the fact that they had officially called off the strike. Such methods will cause even greater confusion in the union since it creates illusions about reviving the strike now.

What is necessary is to place at the head of the union a responsible leadership of progressives; to begin now, a constructive campaign to build up the union; and to prepare, as soon as the time ripens, for a well organized fight to improve the conditions of the hotel and restaurant workers.

# The World Communist Front

## Some Significant Developments

### Alsace

The CPO in Alsace has been making efforts to set up a proletarian united front against the rising menace of Fascism in France. Towards this end the CPO took the initiative in inviting the Socialist Party and the Communist Party for a united Paris Commune commemoration meeting.

A meeting of our organization in Alsace was attacked physically by a section of the Autonomists who have been swinging towards Fascism. This has caused considerable discussion in our ranks as to the advisability of continuing the united front with the Autonomists.

### Austria

The CPO in Austria has been re-established on a broader base. We have excellent contacts with a very sizable section of the Vienna Social-democracy which is swinging sharply to the left. It is with this group that we are now working closely.

In the insurrection our comrades as well as the CP members participated as individuals. As an organization the CP did not make itself felt. What is still more significant is that even after the Austrian defeat, when the situation created made the extension of communist influence possible, the CP, though free from certain crass errors constantly repeated by the CI, has not been able to measure up to the moment.

### France

In the ranks of the French CP there is a growing opposition to the "united front from below" policy of the Central Committee. In the proletarian districts of Paris a genuine united front spirit pervades the ranks of both the CP and the SP, to the consternation

of the rapidly swelling ranks of the Fascist movement in France.

So great has become this opposition to official policies of the CP that the leadership of the St. Denis organization of the CP, headed by Jacques Doriot, has publicly come out against the "united front from below" tactics of the Central Committee and for a genuine united front of the CP, SP and both trade union movements. Doriot is one of the most popular leaders of the French CP and St. Denis is one of the most proletarian sections of the Party.

The immediate slogans of the CP are in part constructive and in part confusing. The SP has concretized its demands to center around the following slogan—"The reduction of the personnel of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies from a total membership of 900 to 300 and the fight to preserve the democratic state."

Class lines in France are sharpening rapidly and decisive struggles are not far distant.

### Germany

Our organization in Germany is growing. The total dues paying membership of the CPO is now 500 more than it was when Papen took office in the summer of 1932. Our literature is sought for and our influence, especially in developing underground unions, is outstanding.

From an observer, not connected with our organization, who has just returned from Germany, we learn that in the ranks of the working class it is generally considered that the CPO is the most efficient

underground force today, and that it is the only one growing.

For this progress we have paid, within the last few weeks, with some very costly casualties. In three of our biggest districts the entire leadership has been arrested.

In the ranks of the Nazis there is brewing a sharp faction war which is assuming serious dimensions and which will probably manifest itself openly soon. The economic situation is becoming more acute daily.

### India

Our organization has made tremendous headway in India in recent months.

Pandit J. Nehru, secretary of the All India Congress, the most powerful figure in India today, since Gandhi is so discredited publicly, has come out with a declaration in favor of Communism but in opposition to the tactics of the CI. Comrade Nehru is a close friend of Roy.

His statement reads in part:

"I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is one between a form of Communism and some form of Fascism, and I am all for the former, Communism. . . . There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism. One has to choose between the two and I chose the Communist ideal. In regard to methods and approach to this ideal, I may not agree with everything that orthodox Communists have done. I

think these methods will have to adapt themselves to changing conditions, and may vary in different countries; but I do think the basic ideology of Communism and its scientific interpretation of history are sound."

At the Trade Union Congress our comrades, known as the Roy Opposition, wielded considerable influence. In the governing committee of the Congress we were able to defeat the bureaucracy on a number of occasions by a very close vote. Our strength is especially marked among the Bombay workers—textile and railroad.

### Sweden

The fight, in what was once the Swedish CPO, has assumed very tense forms. The Kilbom leadership is swinging sharply to the right and is preparing to reorganize the party under another name, dropping the word Communism altogether.

On the other hand the opposition to Kilbom is growing, especially among the youth. In the Stockholm youth organization the Kilbom leadership was routed. The entire youth organization, with the exception of but 9 votes, decided to remain with the ICO and to fight against the centrist policies of Kilbom. We now publish a special information bulletin in Sweden.

### Switzerland

Our Swiss comrades have engaged in some model activities against the engulfing Fascist menace. The CPO has been especially

active and influential in defeating the new emergency laws which would have meant the outlawing of the Communist movement immediately and the destruction of all labor organizations afterwards. The proposed law, which our comrades called the Prison Law, was defeated in the popular referendum by over 40,000 votes.

### "Fourth International"

From the Central Trotskyist organ, Unser Wort (Our Word), we learn that the break between the SAP (Socialist Workers Party, the centrist group led by Walcher) and the self-styled "International Left Opposition" is definite. This is a mortal blow to Trotsky's maneuvers for a Fourth anti-Communist International.

Inside of Germany the SAP has been non-existent for some months, but outside some of its members have been serving as the liaison officers between Trotsky and a whole series of centrist and out-and-out reformist organizations seeking to band themselves together in a new International against Communism.

### International Communist Opposition

In general the ICO has made substantial headway in the last months,—in Austria, England and India in particular.

Since last September the CPO, thru meetings and sundry other activities, has sent \$1,001.65 to the ICO for work in underground Germany. While this is a good beginning, it certainly is only a small portion of what our organization could have done, should have done and now must do.

## C. W. A. Organization Split by C. P.

by C. W. A.

Another workers organization has been split as a result of the sectarian and disruptive policies of the official Communist Party and its followers. This time the victim is the Associated Office and Professional Emergency Employees (AOPEE), an organization of white collar workers employed on various C.W.A. projects.

### A Good Beginning

The AOPEE was one of the few examples in this country of successful organization by white collar workers, and in many respects showed more progress than the laborers' organization in the same field. In the first few months of its existence it succeeded in getting into its ranks some 2,000 members, secured recognition of its grievance committee by the administration, secured numerous concessions on matters of pay, hours and sick leave. It staged a demonstration at the C.W.A. office in which almost 3,000 white collar workers participated, the first of its kind here and of great significance in the development of the white collar movement. A great future lay ahead of the AOPEE and then the C.P. took a hand.

### Enter The C. P.

Originally opposed to the setting up of a white collar organization, the C.P. formed its own Relief Workers League for "all" emergency workers. But when the progress of the AOPEE became obvious it changed its line and decided to enter the AOPEE. As usual, its tactics were at once oriented towards "capture" or falling that to split. The usual methods of disruption, slander, packing lying were resorted to. Open stool-pigeon activities were resorted to. Active workers in the organization were designated by name, in the Daily Worker, and their political affiliation proclaimed, in many cases falsely, for the benefit of the administration. C.P. members in the AOPEE openly flaunted the policies of the organization and tried to mobilize the membership to participate in actions of rival organizations. An

instance was the "strike" of February 5, called by the Relief Workers League, for which the C.P. members endeavored to secure support over the head of the AOPEE.

The United Front Demonstration The culmination of these disruptive activities came in the united front demonstration of February 15, initiated by the Workers Committee on Unemployment. For the first time all unemployed and C.W.A. organizations were brought together thru the efforts of the AOPEE, into one united demonstration against wage-cuts, lay-offs and against the proposed discontinuance of the C.W.A.

During the demonstration itself the various party organizations broke every agreement and decision made in the united front committee. Organizations which were not unemployed organizations, and which had not been invited, insinuated themselves into the parade and demonstration with their own banners. The International and other revolutionary songs were sung; the "red front band," uninvited, placed itself at the head of the parade and played "appropriate" music. In the midst of the meeting in Union Square a party member jumped up to announce the party's meeting on Austria in the Coliseum, acclaimed the Austrian revolution and ended by calling for "three cheers for Soviet Austria." Thus while the bulk of the participants in the February 15 demonstration came from non-partisan organizations, all the activities of the party were directed toward stamping the demonstration as a "red" affair, thus driving out the non-partisan and non-communist elements. These tactics aroused great indignation among the members of the various non-C.P. organizations, resulting in the disbanding of the united front.

### C.P. Splits Organization

At about this time also the Executive Committee had been constituted since the Central Council, made up of representatives from the various units had grown too large to function effectively. The party members voted unanimously to

elect an executive committee but when it was elected and they discovered that they had not secured control of it they began a campaign against it as "illegal." A membership meeting called to take action on the program of the administration to drop the C.W.A., to ratify the Executive Committee and to adopt a policy on the united front, was disrupted by the party's filibustering and splitting tactics. Under these circumstances the Executive Committee decided to conduct a referendum to determine the attitude of the membership on the disputed issues. This threw the C.P. forces into a panic. They knew that the sentiment of the membership was overwhelmingly against them. They had to forestall the referendum at all costs. They therefore issued a "call" for a "Council Meeting" to take place exactly two days before the close of the referendum. This was done despite a call, previously issued, for a regular Council meeting for two days after the close of the referendum. Naturally the Party fraction and a few innocent victims. In spite of an official communication from the secretary to come to the regular meeting a few days later and not to participate in an action which would place them outside the organization, the party fraction proceeded to "constitute" itself as the Council, "deposed" the officers of the organization, "liquidated" the Executive Committee and declared itself as the AOPEE. In other words they split away from the AOPEE and set up a dual organization.

### C.P. vs. Non-Partisan Organization

So there now exist two organizations, the regular non-partisan AOPEE of which Miriam Silvis is Executive Secretary, with headquarters at 22 East 22nd St., and the dual split-off section which uses the same name and which has become merely another fig-leaf for the discredited and bankrupt Unemployed Councils. That this set will go the way of other products of party adventurism goes without saying. Already whatever few non-partisan forces were inveigled into following them are returning. It will not be long before this splinter will merge with the regular party groups in the field. In

spite of a great deal of damage done, the regular AOPEE will consolidate its forces and continue winning the white collar workers to its ranks.

### Little Brothers Of Disrupters

Here the story would ordinarily end, were it not that the disrupters have left a little brother inside the AOPEE to continue their work—a small group which under the cover of "progressives" has taken over the place formerly occupied by the C.P. fraction. They began to crystallize during the struggle against the party fraction, when they occupied an "on-the-fence" position, changing from day to day and even from hour to hour. When the party split they at first could not make up their minds where to go and consequently went to both, even walking out of the regular Council meeting in order to attend a rump meeting. With one or two exceptions they refused to participate in the referendum, characterizing it as a "phony," a term borrowed from the party. Finally they made up their minds to remain with the organization, one of the reasons they gave being that "the records were in the hands of the regular secretary."

### New Disrupters Use Old C.P. Methods

Now they are conducting a typical C. P. campaign against the leadership of the AOPEE. An example of this was an article by one of their representatives, in the Militant, which bears a striking resemblance to an article printed a few days earlier in the Daily Worker. Like the C.P. their entire campaign is based on lies. Every one of the charges made against the leadership of the AOPEE (which they characterize as Lovestonelite-Socialist) is false. They have picked up, emphasized and exaggerated the filthiest slanders of the C.P. fraction. So stupid was their political analysis that the editorial board of the Militant, kindly accepted responsibility for a "typographical error." In order to curry favor with the Socialist elements in the organization, who have no use for their disruptive methods, they declare their willingness to have a progressive bloc together with Socialists but not with Lovestonelites! They have the colossal gall to set themselves up as the superior judges in the organization, denouncing as "reac-

tionary" all those who do not agree with them.

### Adventurism Of The 'Progressives'

Their political line, as it finally expressed itself, in connection with the highly successful delegation to Washington in which 1,000 workers participated, 400 of them from New York, was pure adventurism. Their representatives did not hesitate to demand that the delegation seize the Washington auditorium in front of which a meeting was held and they denounced the delegation for lack of militancy because "it did not break thru the police lines."

At the mass meeting to welcome the delegation, one of their representatives, called upon to report, tried to utilize this opportunity to slander the delegation, its leaders and the leaders of the various participating organizations. In typical C.P. fashion they called upon the rank and file to "take over" the organization. They showed defeatism and demoralization. When the audience realized what was going on the speaker was indignantly shouted off the platform. This was the answer of the rank and file not only to this one adventurist fool who blundered into the wrong organization, but also to the entire handful of "progressives" whose energy is directed toward disruption and demoralization. The Daily Worker write-up of the Washington delegation is almost verbatim the report made by this "progressive" at the meeting. Again a strange coincidence!

In this connection, the Trotskyites, the Militant and the A.W.P. must be called to account for placing their press and their offices at the disposal of this group of irresponsible disrupters, without knowing the real situation in the organization, just because some of these disrupters are in favor of a "new Party." The experience of the Trotskyites in the Amalgamated Food Workers should prove to them that being in favor of a "new Party" is no guarantee against opportunist and adventurist deviations.

Build The AOPEE All white collar emergency workers are urged to get into their organization, the AOPEE, with headquarters at 22 E. 22nd St. To build and strengthen it, is the way to defeat the starvation program against the unemployed and emergency workers now being put into effect by the federal and state municipal administration.

# Furriers Fight for a Union

(Continued from Page 5)

three and four dollars worth of "dues" per worker while they sit at the machines. Voluntary and traditional payment of dues? Not for this revolutionary union! Twenty-one business agents must earn their keep!

These are some of the reasons why we Lovestoneites have joined the A. F. of L. union and there are others, very important reasons!

## Machine Control vs. Union Democracy

For instance: complete absence of democracy and instead a rigid and machine-like control that makes the slightest disagreement, let alone such a fundamental one as ours, a high crime, punishable with persecution in the organization and even loss of the job. One of us, Sarah Gross, the widow of Aaron Gross, a founder of the union, was ordered fired unless she meet impossible immediate payments after a long period of unemployment. For urging affiliation of the industrial union with the A. F. of L. the writer was hustled out of a meeting under Hitler-like "protective arrest"—for his "own" good. Organized howling met us in every effort to take the floor at meetings. This "revolutionary democracy" did not stop there. Organized thuggery by paid sluggers prevented our agitation in the streets of the fur market. What difference is there in the mind of one whose head is broken whether the slugger gets \$35.00 a week or \$50.00. Is it the \$15.00 difference that makes a right wing strong arm hiring a thug and one from a Party-con-

trolled dual union a revolutionist?

## Bankruptcy Of The Industrial Union

In spite of all the aforementioned difficulties, we might still have remained within the dual union for agitational purposes if its bankruptcy was not further demonstrated by the fact that in 1932 they stood alone in the field, the A. F. of L. having completely abandoned it and were even then unable to prevent the bosses from ignoring the old union standards in the trade. If a dual union can't get decent conditions when it has the field to itself under what circumstances can it?

## Role Of Dual Unionism

In addition to all that a sober revolutionist must come to the conclusion that the Communist Party's dual union policy is playing into the hands of the capitalist class at this time. It might be hard for a Party sympathizer to believe that his dual union is actually helping to fetter the American working class with the company union, but that is only too true. When all the working class is girding itself for a titanic struggle for its right to organize, for the right to the closed shop, the dual unions demand what the company unions ask; that even the minority groups must be given recognition and are entitled to agreements with the employers. In the N. Y. Times of March 28, a dispatch from Washington brings the shocking news that, "the automobile agreement provides that any group may be represented at conferences with the employers. This would bring in A. F. of L. unions, company

NINTH RIVERA MURAL AT NEW WORKERS SCHOOL



unions, rump unions, dissident factions of the A. F. of L. and even left wing and Communist unions." This automobile pact will be used

over a piece of work done by William Green, who signed the agreement.

## Future Of Unionism In Fur Trade

It might be true that the Joint Council Furriers Union has a few less members than the dual organization. And it might be equally true that the leadership of this union is conservative and must be watched and pushed and criticized, but to the Joint Council belongs the future. While it might have a leadership less revolutionary than is Ben Gold, there is far more democracy in that organization than in his. Even a follower of the dual union is able to come to a meeting and speak freely, is even able to come to a shop meeting and say he refuses to be a member of the Joint Council and continue to work on the job. For there is no forced registration since we have been in the union. We Lovestoneites are realists enough to know that this democracy might last only till we get the union built up, but we will fight to retain it and at least do our fighting where the rest of the American working class belongs rather than in a pitiful dual union which is doomed to speedy extinction.

## The Way To Powerful Unionism

We are of the firm conviction that the fur workers will never enjoy the fruits of organization so long as the dual union is permitted to exist and divide the workers ranks to the great enjoyment of the employers. That the furriers are sick and exhausted of two unions is known to all.

The only way the militant and class conscious fur workers can win a union that has a permanent existence is thru building the Joint Council of the American Federation of Labor and destroying the dual union.

# Bankruptcy of Proletarian Party

by Mary Wright

Since I have recently left the Proletarian Party, of which I was formerly an active member, and joined the Communist Party Opposition I wish to publicly state my reasons for so doing.

Mine is not an isolated split and should not be considered as such. Many active comrades, including two National Executive Committee members have left the Proletarian party within the last few months. If it were a case of one or two comrades we might assume that it was a case of individual shortcoming and let the whole matter go at that, but when a large number of such active members leave almost simultaneously both the adherents of the Proletarian party and those who have other leanings must give a more thorough analysis in order to find the political significance of these breaks in its ranks.

The Proletarian party is a Communist organization, that is it adheres to the fundamental principles of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, soviet power, etc. That is fine, but it is not everything. The Communist party and the Communist party Opposition are also communist organizations yet there are very real differences between the three.

Two very important attitudes of the P.P. which are to a great extent responsible for its recent splits are first its sectarian blind attitude toward the other sections of the American Communist movement and its complete failure as an organization to link up the class struggle in its less highly developed forms, i.e. as it is expressed by trade unions and similar organizations, with the class struggle in its final revolutionary phase.

The P.P. is quite sure that it is the only real communist party in the U. S. A., so sure that it absolutely ignores all the others.

The P.P. fights the C.P. with undying hatred but at the same time it does not in the least criticize the C.I., the main source of the errors of the C.P. It adopts the most disgustingly sycophantic attitude toward the C.I. For example, it is opposed to the American party's stand on united fronts with other labor organizations, it repeatedly states this position in its press and thru its activities in united fronts. Yet what was its attitude in the

recent German debacle? What statement did it print? For two months after Hitler came to power it printed articles telling the workers that Fascism is bad. Then it printed the statement of the E.C. C.I. whitewashing the German Communist party and the Communist International. No comment was made. A comrade had written an article analyzing the situation, pointing out the mistakes of both the S.P. and the C.P. and criticizing the failure of the C.P.G. to form a united front against Fascism. This article was never printed.

The P.P. does not carry on the aggressive splitting tactics of the C.P. in relation to the trade unions. But it has no planned progressive program within them. It leaves it to the will of each individual member and makes it quite clear to him that what is expected of him is to advertise the P.P. If he as an individual plays a progressive role he is not reprimanded, but if he does not that is quite alright too. Any group which aspires to become a Communist party must have a planned program of action within the trade unions and furthermore it must carry it out. The P.P. will offer the alibi that it has not the forces, a weak evasive alibi. The C.P.O. is not a mass organization but it is a real force in a great many trade unions.

We find the same weakness in the position toward immediate demands. The recognized leaders of the P.P., Keracher et al, take the stand that they are opposed to all immediate demands except those which can only be obtained by a complete revolution. This was seen at the convention three years ago when Peterson and others broke away. It was also seen in the discussion at the recent convention and in the splits which followed.

The basis for the splits within the P.P. is the fact that instead of facing conditions as they are with communist reality, instead of rolling up its shirt-sleeves and plunging into the fight, it remains isolated from the working class and its struggles ready to spring

into action when and if a revolution suddenly startles the country. But revolutions do not happen like that. We must be with the working class, fighting with them, leading them, preparing them for the steps to come. If today we are in sleepy isolation do you think that we can suddenly shake off our inertia and from would-be philosophers become revolutionary leaders?

Today the P.P. exerts only a negative influence, that is it takes these workers, many of whom have excellent potentials, out of the class struggle. It does not show them how to carry on effective work but it delays them, and in some cases permanently, from learning how to participate in the labor movement as communists. I am glad to note that already many of the more active comrades have, like myself, become disgusted with the sectarianism and inactivity of the P.P. and are leaving it to join the C.P.O.

The C.P.O. adheres to the principles of Communism, it is a revolutionary working class political organization, agreeing with all other communist groups on the fundamentals of communism. It is on tactical questions that it differs from the official party, and the P.P. In the trade union field it disagrees with both the passive disregard attitude, the benevolent neutrality of the P.P. and the left sectarian dual unionism of the C.P. It adopts a progressive policy within the trade unions, continually leads the backward workers to a more progressive position thru coordinated action. Each member of the C.P.O. is made to understand the importance of this work and the group as such sees to it that he is a leader within the union of his trade.

The C.P.O. recognizes the fact that there are divisions within the Communist movement and strives for Communist unity thru-out the world. The P.P. is a fact (however unimportant), the C.P. is a fact, (and an important one), they cannot be ignored. The C.P.O. recognizes this fact and acts accordingly.

Because it has a correct approach both to other communist organizations and the non-revolutionary workers and because it is alive, alert and seizes every oppor-

# A "Lovestoneite" Recants

Editor Workers Age:

Several days ago there appeared in the Daily Worker a statement from a former Philadelphia "Lovestoneite" who dissociated himself from the Lovestone group and was readmitted into the Communist Party.

It would be of interest to the readers of the Age to learn that Sam Leckerman, the supposed Lovestoneite, is the notorious traitor and present Republican politician of the Carpenters Union. He never was a member of our group.

The real story is the following: Sam Leckerman, who is not an ordinary rank and file, but a leader of Local 1073, a former business agent of the local and president of the local, had consistently slandered and undermined the Party, while being a Party member. In 1926 his expulsion from the Party was considered but Leckerman, being a staunch Fosterite, his faction raised the cry of factionalism.

Finally his actions became so vile that he was expelled by unanimous decision in 1927, more than two years before the Lovestoneites were expelled.

After his expulsion from the Party, Leckerman sank so deep as to make an alliance with the Republican politician, Sam Sloan, in the elections in Local 1073 of the Carpenters union. This was in 1929, after we had been expelled from the Party. The Party fraction did not even issue a statement against Leckerman even though he still paraded as a progressive. The progressive carpenters' group, under our influence, issued a leaflet condemning Leckerman as a traitor and called on the workers to defeat him in the elections.

In 1930 Leckerman reached the acme of his treason. He testified before the District Council against three members of the union, charging them with membership in the Communist Party. The three C.P. members were expelled.

Thousands of workers in Philadelphia are acquainted with the facts that we have enumerated. How can the Party bureaucrats, who

tunity to participate in the labor movement for the advancement of communism, I have joined this group and am now devoting my utmost efforts to working with it for furthering the communist movement.

keep on crying "renegades" against the founders and builders of our Party because we differ on tactics—how can the Party clasp to its bosom a Sam Leckerman? It was difficult to do! So they invented the Lovestone myth.

The following will prove that Party sympathizers do not believe the Party leaders. When Leckerman was proposed for membership in the C.P.-controlled I.W.O. he was promptly rejected. Then a decree came from the Party office that Leckerman is O.K. and must be admitted. He was then admitted but even the party sympathizers understand this game.

We certainly do not envy the Party its new acquisition. We will soon see the rather humorous spectacle of Leckerman defending the Party line (with a straight face) and denouncing the Lovestoneites as "right wingers."

H. Bial, Philadelphia

## MAY DAY ISSUE WORKERS AGE

A 12 page May First issue of Workers Age will be off the press in time to reach outlying cities by May First.

Among the contributors in this issue will be Jay Lovestone on The Perspectives of the New Deal; Bertram D. Wolfe on Leninism Today; A. Critique of the World Communist Movement; Will Herberg on Russia and the "Fourth International"; Edward Welsh on The Crisis in the Unemployment Movement; D. Benjamin on The Program of the A. W. P.; George F. Miles on The Next Step for the Trade Unions; Saul Held on—After C.W.A. What?

There will also appear in this issue articles on the Prague Program of the German Social Democracy and an estimate of the Program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee — for the American Socialist Party.

All units of the CPO should place their increased orders immediately. Units are also requested to send in their greetings—not later than April 18th.

# Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the  
Workers Age Pub. Assn., 51 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.  
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Organ of the National Council of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)  
Subscription rates: Foreign \$1.50 a year, \$1.00 six months. 5 cents  
a copy Domestic \$1.25 a year, \$0.75 six months.

Vol. 3, No. 6.

April 15, 1934.

## THE CANADIAN WORKERS LEAGUE

**I**N THE headlines of recent weeks Germany, Austria and the New Deal have had a sort of a privileged position. This does not mean that nothing has been happening elsewhere. These are stirring days, days in which we are at culminating points of decades of development and no country is left out of the run.

Concretely, we have in mind Canada. In the land of our northern neighbor much has been happening of late. Class lines have become hardened and class relations more embittered. Canadian reaction has reached its high watermark in the present Bennett government. Labor militants are hounded for strike activities; communists are sentenced to heavy prison terms for mere agitation; civil rights are a dead letter and economic conditions are increasingly unbearable.

It is especially under these conditions that we greet the formation of the Workers League of Canada. This League is dedicated to the principles of Marx and Lenin, and to the Leninist tactical course pursued by the Comintern in its days of greatest virility and influence. The Workers League of Canada breaks with the dry-rot formulae and shibboleths of the ultra-left sectarian course of official Canadian communism. It evolves its tactics fully cognizant of the specific conditions prevailing in Canada and thus strikes very effectively towards unifying the workers' ranks and their struggles, towards winning the workers for the achievement of the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin.

We of the Communist Party Opposition in the United States hail the first move toward revolutionary sanity and unity in Canada. We are sure it will mean much for Canadian labor, awakening to the need of a showdown struggle against the black Bennett government. The Workers League of Canada, with its insistence on transforming the conservative unions into militant trade unions and of inspiring and aiding the realization of the broadest genuine united front against capitalist reaction, shows not only the path of struggle but also points the way out of the whole crisis of decaying capitalism. To the Workers League of Canada go our revolutionary greetings.

## New Workers School in New Term

The final term of the fifth year of the New Workers School will begin on Monday April 9th. In ever increasing numbers workers are realizing that it is the only school where the principles and tactics of Marxism-Leninism are taught, not as a dogma but as a method and a guide to action.

Several new courses are being given this term which should be of special interest to all those who are interested in Communism:

**PORTRAIT OF AMERICA**, instructor Bertram D. Wolfe. Fridays - 8.30 P. M. beginning April 13th.

In this course Comrade Wolfe, author of the new book "Portrait of America," gives a Marxist analysis of the decisive turning points and driving forces that shaped modern America, its economy, its class structure and its ideology. The subjects of the lectures are: Colonial America, The First American Revolution, The American Dream, The Struggle over Slavery, The American Labor Movement, and America as a World Power.

**THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE TRADE UNIONS**, instructor G. F. Miles, Fridays 7 o'clock beginning Apr. 13th.

This course will include a discussion of the historical approach of Communism to the trade unions, a review of the attitude of the various tendencies in the labor movement towards the trade unions at the present time, and an estimate of the present condition of the trade union movement.

**DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM**, instructor Will Herberg. Mondays, 7 P. M. beginning Apr. 9th. A study of the historical roots of Marxism and of its philosophical background, followed by a detailed examination of the main concep-

tions of dialectical materialism as the philosophy of Marxism.

**FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM**, instructor Eve Dorf. Mondays, 8.30 P. M. beginning April 9th.

This course consists of an analysis of the economic, social and political structure and functioning of the capitalist system, the contradictions within capitalism, tendencies making for a new social order, the nature and form of socialist society.

**PROPOSED ROADS TO FREEDOM** (Which Program for the Working Class), instructor Jim Cork. Thursdays, 7 P. M. beginning April 12th.

Analysis of the various tendencies in the labor movement. Anarchism, syndicalism, socialism, official communist tendency, Trotskyism and the International Communist Opposition.

**ELEMENTS OF MARXIAN ECONOMICS**, instructor B. Herman. Tuesdays 8.30 P. M. beginning April 10th.

**BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF SCIENCE**, instructor M. C. Stewart. Thursdays 8.30 P. M. beginning April 12th.

Dialectical Materialism applied in the field of science.

## Notice

As we go to press, the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. has just gotten under way. In the next issue of Workers Age we will analyze the decisions of this convention and its accompanying fanfare and mechanical enthusiasm which seems to pervade and replace a realistic approach to our problems.

## Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

The last battle in the auto industry has not been fought yet, for the workers have not said their final word. But we must recognize that inter-

**AUTO UNIONS CRIPPLED**  
vention of President Roosevelt and the proposals agreed to by William Green go a long way to cripple unionism in the auto industry.

Despite Green's flat refusal to submit membership lists to the employers, he finally did agree to do so. What is still worse, the whole struggle, directed against company unionism, was given up. The White House statement makes it very clear that "more than one group" will be recognized in any negotiations with the employers. The New York Evening Post comes out with a seven column head "Auto Pact Saves Company Union" and less than twenty-four hours after Green hailed the decision as a great victory for labor, he mumbled about resisting the presence of company union representatives during negotiations.

The present severe defeat of the auto workers rests squarely upon the shoulders of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The treachery of the bureaucracy becomes even more vile when we examine the growth of company unions. Green's betrayal, which strengthens company unionism climaxes a period in which company unions have far outstripped the trade unions in growth. The Monthly Labor Review for February 1934 (a United States Department of Labor publication) brings some striking facts.

**COMPANY UNIONS GROW**  
A survey of 3,314 companies with 2,500,000 workers, made in November 1933, shows 45.7% of the workers under individual bargaining arrangements, 45% under company unions and only 9.3% operating under union agreements.

An analysis of these figures, by industry, shows that it is primarily in the important industries, in those in which the workers have shown unmistakable signs of organization and struggle that the growth of company unions is greatest.

**IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES INVOLVED**  
Of 1,100,000 metal workers only 31,000 were under union contract; of 328,000 textile workers, union agreements cover 60,000; in the food industry 13,000 out of 242,000 are in signed union shops; and in the oil industry a mere 2,000 workers are in union oil fields out of 167,000. The remaining workers, in these industries are operating either under company unions or thru individual bargaining.

These figures challenge the very existence of the trade union movement and cry aloud for militants and progressives everywhere to organize against this menace and against the bureaucracy which tolerates and strengthens it.

**NRA**, "the new Magna Charta of American labor" was showered with praise by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Socialists like Judge Panken hailed it as a step to Socialism. Even such "left Socialists" as David P. Benenber enacted the Government to give official recognition to the trade union movement and concludes "members will virtually be forced upon them." Is it any wonder that thousands of workers suffered such illusions and still hope that NRA will set matters right? The fact of the matter is that it is especially since the introduction of NRA that company unionism has come into full flower. We quote from the American Federationist, March 1934:

"Among 653 companies which reported collective bargaining thru company unions, 223 companies with 265,937 employees report that the plan was introduced before NIRA. 400 companies with 678,141 employees

report the adoption of the plan after NIRA. . . .

"Among 416 companies reporting that they had made collective agreements with unions, 232 with 106,696 employees report that the agreement was entered upon before NIRA. 174 companies with 131,272 employees report the formation of agreements subsequent to NIRA."

President Roosevelt's attitude was made quite clear when he said in the White House Statement: "The government makes it clear that it favors no particular form of employee organization or representation." And Senator Wagner in defending his Bill against James A. Emery, general counsel of the National Association of Manufacturers, was forced to state that his Bill "does not encourage a national union. It does not favor any particular union. It does not even favor unionization."

The instrument for smashing company unionism is not to be sought for in government circles or among "friendly senators" but is to be found only in the organized power of the trade unions.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found information on the elections in Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. There are a few facts,

**PROGRESSIVES** however, worthy of mention here. Despite the fact that

the "left" group conducted a violent campaign against Zimmerman, the candidate for manager, it is gratifying to note that many supporters of the left group were not carried away by these diatribes and supported Zimmerman for manager.

The vote of Stamper, the "left group" candidate against Zimmerman, is quite significant. His vote was 1,634 less than the highest vote on his ticket and 365 votes less than the lowest vote for any candidate of the "left group". This is the answer of even the supporters of the "left" to the slander campaign against Zimmerman.

The Daily Worker and the Freiheit claim the results to be a great victory for the Party. If 27% of the vote as against 45% one year ago is a victory; if electing no one for any office or committee as against 9 elected one year ago, represents a victory then we hope that such victories be multiplied and come often.

Muste is angry, very angry at the criticisms leveled by us at the American Workers Party (to be born). He therefore fires this annihilating broadside at us, in Labor Action

**WE ARE INDICTED**  
of March 15, 1934:

"The trade union policy of the Lovestonites is a mechanical support of the A. F. of L. (Though not of present policies and leadership) in every instance and a refusal in any case to support independent unionism. . . Where the workers want to organize outside that body (A. F. of L.—GFM) we will help them."

This sounds very flexible and also very profound. But what is Muste's perspective? Will the American Workers Party guide the workers and advise them where to go and how? Or is this one of the tactics that the "revolutionary vanguard of American labor" will work out as it goes along? Muste sees himself as a sort of "revolutionary" storekeeper who will pass over the counter what the workers want, either an independent union or an A. F. of L. union. This may be a good way of catching unsuspecting workers or intellectuals who grasp at tactics, but it certainly is not a trade union policy of a "revolutionary vanguard."

At last thousands of embattled furriers in New York have been rewarded for their patience by the wisdom of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. In this national T.W.U. election, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, Cannon himself is the author of a leaflet



## CHINESE DESTINIES, by Agnes Smedley. The Vanguard Press.

Agnes Smedley, the author of this book is American born. Early in her life she became interested in the movements for freedom; Indian freedom, Irish freedom, freedom of the oppressed, the toiling masses. As a journalist, her travels have taken her to many parts of the globe. During the last few years, in China, as a writer for Indian and German newspapers, she visited many sections seldom touched by foreigners. Chinese Destinies is the result of these, her latest travels. She is possessed of a keen sense of stark realities. This she shows in the multi-colored sketches of the lives she reveals to us. Suggesting phases, shades and tones in the lives of these humans, she emphasizes the most vital. Her realistic strokes turn these images to flesh and blood.

The scenes of these stories are the cities, villages of China, her mountains, valleys, plains and rice fields. Pictures of Nanking, moving scenes of Shanghai, chapters on Shango and on the Chinese Soviet Republic. The Peasants of Kwangtung, scenes of savagery and "white" reaction, arrests and executions even of those only suspected of "forbidden thoughts." Scenes of heads lying in the gutters and roadways as warnings and reminders to those who dare live up to their convictions. Intermingled with these, are the stories of human kindness among comrades, of their sufferings, their loyalties, their heroism—stories of human interest!

Agnes Smedley has done justice to both the old and the new China. The old feudal aristocracy hanging on with all might and sacrificing the lifeblood of millions of China's bravest is depicted in all its cruelties. The pictures of new China struggling to be born are very inspiring. The most stirring of the latter, to my mind, is the story, "The Five Years." A realistic tale of the lives and deaths of five communists. The inhuman treatment, the suffering they go through, the devotion and loyalty of each and their heroic deaths. A story of the fibre that inspires, in spite of the momentary defeats.

Into these stories Agnes Smedley puts her whole being, creating with simple language stories that breathe life! No one who wants to understand life in China should neglect this account of a significant section on the globe.

—ESTHER MENDEL

document in the form of an editorial in the Militant.

One would expect that the Trotskyites who shout so loudly for democracy when one of their number is maltreated by official Communists, would say something about the Industrial Union terror in the market, thru hired gangsters. But there is not a word about this. After the usual ritualistic phrases such as "paralyzing bureaucratism," "Stalinist organizations," and "Stalinist Unions" they proceeded to attack the main danger—the Lovestonites who are giving a "radical face" to the International. The upshot of all of Cannon's verbosity is that in spite of everything we must continue to support the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.

We recall that this has been the attitude of the Trotskyites at every turn of events where the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was involved. In this manner have they written when the cloakmakers began to go over to the I.L.G.W.U., when the dressmakers made up their mind to end dual unionism and now again the same stupidities in the case of the furriers. Especially on trade union questions the Trotskyites have proved themselves time and again to be infantile and thoroughly irresponsible.

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